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FOR GREATER UNITY OF COMMUNISTS, FOR A FRESH UPSURGE OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

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Speech by L. I. Brezhnev,
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at the International Meeting of Communist
and Workers' Parties in Moscow
June 7, 1969

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY PUBLISHING HOUSE
MOSCOW

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Dear Comrades, the principal item on the agenda of our Meeting is the question of the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and of unity of action of Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces. From our point of view, the essence of the problems covered by this agenda is clearly formulated in the draft of the Main Document. The CC CPSU considers that the draft, as well as the other documents which we shall have to examine, conforms to the present-day tasks of the communist movement.

We are convinced, comrades, that our Meeting, at which most of the Communist Parties in the world are represented, will play a major role in stimulating the actions of the fighters against imperialism. It will contribute towards uniting the entire world front of the forces championing peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

At the same time, we are confident that the work of this Meeting and the joint struggle for the aims which it will chart will help to surmount the difficulties that have emerged in the communist movement and strengthen its unity on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

All this will still further enhance the prestige and influence enjoyed by Communists among the broad masses of working people and all progressive forces in the world.

I.

THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

Comrades, a little under nine years have passed since representatives of the Communist Parties of all continents had last gathered in order jointly to map out the further course of their revolutionary struggle. This has been an extremely important and eventful period. To us Communists it has brought many successes and opened up further possibilities for achieving the great aims of our movement. At the same time, this period has brought serious problems and complications.

We have very closely followed the speeches made here in which the comrades touched on a number of major issues of the anti-imperialist struggle. We have been instructed by the Central Committee of the CPSU to expound here, in the light of the basic task to which the Meeting is devoted, our Party's viewpoint on some problems of international development over the past few years.

All of us are unanimous that *as a social system imperialism has been and remains the chief obstacle to mankind's historically inevitable advance to the triumph of freedom, peace and democracy.*

The peoples are making a stern claim on imperialism. Through its fault the vital problems that face mankind in acute form remain unresolved though they could be successfully settled already today. Imperialism has been and remains the chief adversary not only of the communist movement but of all fighters for the rights of the working people, for the deliverance of the peoples from social and national oppression.

The social substance of imperialism and its place in history are clear to us Communists. However to chart a concrete programme of anti-imperialist struggle it is not enough to have a correct understanding of the essence and nature of imperialism. It is also necessary to make a close analysis of the new phenomena and deep-going processes taking place in the capitalist world. The Leninist theory of imperialism provides the key to understanding the specific features distinguishing imperialism at the present stage of its development.

What may be said of the features of imperialism over the past decade? Wherein lie its strength and weakness in our day and, the main thing, what makes it a menace to the peoples?

The growth of socialism's might, the abolition of colonial regimes and the pressure from the working-class movement increasingly influence the inner processes and policies of imperialism. Many important features of modern imperialism may be explained by the fact that it is compelled to adapt itself to new conditions, to the conditions of struggle between the two systems.

First and foremost, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that modern imperialism makes use also of the possibilities placed before it by the increasing fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus. The programming and forecasting of production, state financing of technological progress and scientific research and steps aimed at achieving a certain restriction of market spontaneity in the interests of the biggest monopolies are becoming more and more widespread. In some countries this is leading to a certain enhancement of the efficacy of social production.

The economic, scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries and the class struggle are compel-

ling capitalism to make some concessions to the working people in the social sphere. It seeks to camouflage the rising level of exploitation of the working people. Monopoly capitalism thereby tries to avert social and economic upheavals fraught with the greatest danger to the bourgeois system.

To meet the challenge of socialism and strengthen their positions, the imperialists are combining their efforts on an international scale and taking recourse to various forms of economic integration. International monopoly associations are being set up with the support and participation of the bourgeois governments. Imperialist military and political alliances are becoming more active.

It goes without saying that today, despite all this, the ineradicable inter-imperialist contradictions remain a vital law governing capitalist society. These contradictions are made all the more acute by the circumstance that the reciprocal penetration of capital of these countries is intensifying and the interdependence of their national economies is increasing. The growth of contradictions between the imperialist powers finds its expression particularly in the weakening of aggressive military blocs, chiefly NATO.

As a whole, however, under conditions of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, a certain shift of the centre of gravity of imperialism's strategy is taking place in the world arena. The policies of imperialism are being increasingly determined by the class objectives of its general struggle against world socialism, the national liberation revolution and the working-class movement.

There is no doubt at all that imperialism will continue to look for new possibilities for prolonging its existence. We cannot ignore all this in our policy.

However, in speaking of these aspects of modern imperialism without underrating the strength and potentialities of our adversaries, we consider that neither must they be overrated. The deep-rooted, truly ineradicable inner contradictions undermining capitalism, chiefly the contradiction between labour and capital, are becoming more and more acute precisely in our day. Under the onslaught of the forces of socialism and democracy its positions in the world continue to grow weaker. Today, more fully than ever before, it is exposing itself as a system of social and national inequality, oppression and violence.

Massively socialising production and centralising its management, state-monopoly capitalism is deepening to bursting point the basic contradiction of the bourgeois system, the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private mode of appropriation. The unnatural character of the situation in which production complexes, some of which serve more than one country, remain the private property of a handful of millionaires and billionaires is becoming increasingly evident to the peoples. The need for replacing capitalist by socialist relations of production is becoming ever more pressing.

The further imperialism goes in its attempts to adapt itself to the situation, the deeper become its inner social and economic antagonisms. The development of capitalist economy is marked by periodic recessions. The unevenness and onesidedness of the development of individual countries is becoming more pronounced. All this cannot fail to engender serious difficulties within these countries and boost the growth of contradictions between them. This is shown by the constant balance of payments deficit, the extremely acute outbursts of currency and financial crises, and the rising cost of living and inflation which in the 1960s have become a chronic disease in many capitalist countries. This disease is now frequently called a "creeping crisis".

Imperialism's inability to deliver mankind from poverty and need, abolish unemployment and ensure the working people and small proprietors with a life free of fear of the morrow is particularly striking against the background of the unparalleled possibilities being opened by the present development of science and technology. To a steadily growing number of people it is becoming clear that capitalism neither can nor will ever admit the working people to real participation in the running of production and social affairs. It is growing more and more obvious that imperialism is leading towards an unprecedented decline of society's cultural and moral values.

The monopolies use the increased possibilities of production, science and technology for their own selfish ends—to intensify the exploitation of the people, strengthen the apparatus of violence over them and reinforce the machinery of military aggression and adventures. The social gulf between the handful of top monopolies and the huge masses of the working class and all other working people continues

to grow wider. In other words, the imperialist system is a permanent and ineradicable threat to the conditions of life and the very existence of the broadest masses in the capitalist countries, where acute class conflicts break out with increasing frequency.

The trend, intrinsic to imperialism, to abolish democratic freedoms and towards the fascisation of social and political life likewise harbours a tremendous threat to the peoples. Lenin had emphasised that reaction in all spheres is inherent in imperialism. In the 1960s a great deal of new convincing evidence of this has come to the fore.

The influence of the so-called military and industrial complex, i.e., the alliance of the largest monopolies with the military in the state apparatus is growing rapidly in the most developed capitalist states. This sinister alliance is bringing increasing pressure to bear on the policy of many imperialist countries, making it still more reactionary and aggressive.

Where the exploiters find themselves unable to ensure the "order" required by them within the framework of bourgeois democracy, power is placed in the hands of openly terrorist regimes of the fascist type. There are many examples of this in our day. These regimes enjoy the financial and political support of the ruling circles of imperialist powers and of the largest monopolies.

Today imperialism is the greatest threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the former colonies as well. Even today, after the collapse of the foundations of imperialism's colonial system, one of its inalienable features continues to be the pillaging of the national wealth and the exploitation of the labour of the population of the weaker and less developed countries, although the imperialists are now compelled to act more craftily and pillage in a more disguised form. The resistance of the peoples of the newly independent countries to the policy of neocolonialism creates a new and important front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

One of imperialism's gravest threats to the peoples of the whole world is that of another world war.

Militarism has always been part and parcel of imperialism. But today it has acquired truly unparalleled proportions. It is the fault of imperialism that the labour of many millions of people, the brilliant achievements of the human

intellect, and the talent of scientists, researchers and engineers are used not for the benefit of mankind, for promoting progress and the remaking of life on earth, but for barbarous, reactionary purposes, for the needs of war, the greatest of calamities for the peoples. These, comrades, are not empty words but real facts. Suffice it to say that during the past five years US military expenditures amounted to nearly 350,000 million dollars or 20 per cent more than the total during the Second World War. Yet today the imperialist governments are drawing up new plans for building up armaments over whole decades in advance. Implementation of these plans will be a further heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people and increase the threat of another world war.

In the 1960s alone the USA and other imperialist states have launched armed attacks on Vietnam, Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, the Arab countries—this list can be continued.

Combined with the stockpiling by the principal imperialist powers of weapons of mass annihilation, the policy of military gambles makes the imperialism of our day a constant menace to world peace, a threat to the lives of many millions of people, to the existence of whole nations. For that reason the struggle against imperialism is at the same time a struggle to deliver mankind from the threat of a world thermonuclear war. One of the cardinal tasks of the international communist movement is to head the struggle of the people for a lasting peace, and today, far from diminishing, the importance of this task constantly grows.

We hold that it would be a gross error to underrate the threat of war created by imperialism, above all US imperialism, the main force of world reaction. Millions of people must be made to understand what is being brought to mankind by the imperialist policy of unleashing wars, by the existence of aggressive blocs, by the policy aimed at revising existing state frontiers and by subversive activities against the socialist countries and the progressive regimes in the young national states. Our task is to see to it that the peoples not only appreciate the entire danger of this policy of the imperialists but also multiply their efforts in the struggle to frustrate the aggressive designs of imperialism.

An extremely important form of the struggle against the

threat of imperialism starting another world war is to organise a collective rebuff to the actions of the aggressors whenever they launch military adventures in any part of the world. The most striking example of this is the rebuff which US aggression has received in Vietnam. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the interventionists has merged with the determined and effective military and economic assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries, and with the broad popular movement of solidarity with the victims of aggression which has started in almost all countries of the world, including the USA. The result of all this is that the aggressors are failing to achieve their aims and the war started by them is turning into a demonstration of their bankruptcy.

This, comrades, vividly shows that failure awaits the aggressive actions of imperialism if the Communists of different countries act in one direction and mobilise the popular masses for an active struggle.

Today imperialism is opposed by mighty forces, which are conducting uninterrupted offensives against it. Allow me to deal with some problems of the struggle of the main revolutionary contingents of modern times against imperialism.

Comrades, all of us base ourselves on the fact that *the world socialist system is the leading revolutionary force and the mainstay of the anti-imperialist movement.* The sharper the confrontation between the new and the old world the greater becomes the importance of utilising all the potentialities of the new social system, strengthening the might of the socialist countries and broadly and allsidedly co-ordinating their efforts.

The 1960s will occupy a special place in the history of world socialism. It was in that decade that many fraternal countries completed the foundations of socialism and went over to the building of developed socialist society. As it matures the socialist system more and more fully reveals the advantages of its economic, social and political organisation, and the genuine democracy inherent in it. All this is a tangible and weighty contribution to our common cause, the cause of consolidating the anti-imperialist front.

Furthermore, from this same angle we examine a problem of paramount importance, that of strengthening the unity of the socialist states. One cannot fail to see that

despite certain difficulties a healthy process of the consolidation of the socialist countries is under way, a process which finds concrete embodiment in the promotion of all-round co-operation between them.

Co-operation of this kind is a key factor in the development of each socialist country. At the same time, and this must be specially underscored, it is a powerful weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle and gives redoubled strength to all the fighters for peace and socialism.

In many ways the situation on the front of the anti-imperialist struggle is now determined by the course of the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. It may be said with gratification that in this sphere the socialist countries have scored many achievements. If we take, for instance, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we shall find that during the past ten years their national income has increased 93 per cent, while in the developed capitalist states the national income rose 63 per cent in the same period. Occupying 18 per cent of the world's territory and having only 10 per cent of the world's population, the CMEA countries now account for approximately one-third of the world's industrial product. On this foundation the people's standard of living is rising and increasing possibilities are opening for further successful economic, scientific and cultural development.

Parallel with this, economic co-operation between socialist countries is deepening and improving. In this sphere, as in the economic development of separate countries, the main accent today is on the qualitative aspect, on promoting the efficacy of social production and economic relations. Precisely this task is served by the economic reforms carried out in the European socialist countries. The same aim is pursued by the comprehensive long-term programme of further socialist integration, whose main directions were defined at a special CMEA session held recently in Moscow.

Much has to be done to achieve these purposes. But we are on the right path and we are confident that by progressing along this path the community of fraternal countries will hasten the victory over capitalism in the economic sphere. The implementation of this task conforms to the interests not only of the socialist countries themselves but also to those of the world revolutionary

struggle as a whole.

Co-operation among socialist countries in foreign policy is an important factor of the anti-imperialist struggle. As practice has shown, this co-operation increases the influence exerted by socialism on the course of world development and enhances socialism's role in the struggle against imperialism.

Special mention must be made of the work carried out in this respect within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, that reliable instrument of the defence of socialism and peace. Over a number of years the Political Consultative Committee of that organisation has scrutinised key problems of international life, problems directly linked up with the strengthening of peace and the promotion of peaceful co-operation between peoples, with the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism. In a number of issues this joint work has helped our countries to secure considerable successes, which have strengthened the international position of socialism and the cause of peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The struggle of socialist countries against imperialism is not only economic, ideological and political. Imperialism, which has been and remains aggressive by nature, constantly enlarges its military machine and, as the events in Vietnam have shown, is prepared to put it to use. Strength, and not a little strength at that, is needed to defend socialist gains. That is why, like other fraternal Parties, the CPSU ceaselessly concerns itself with ensuring the steady growth of the socialist states' defence might and with promoting close co-operation among them in the sphere of defence. This year important decisions have been taken to improve the control of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces. Co-ordination between the armed forces of the allied countries is systematically perfected and their combat skill is growing. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty and other socialist countries are being equipped with the most up-to-date armaments.

In this way, comrades, by collective effort the mighty weapon of the defence of the socialist states is forged in persevering struggle against the world of imperialism. It is, at the same time, a weapon of freedom for those who are waging an armed struggle against imperialism. Our strength is the bulwark of peace for those who combat the

threat of another world war. By defending socialism and peace we defend the future of mankind.

Active relations between ruling Communist Parties are the nucleus, the cornerstone for promoting many-sided co-operation among socialist states. In recent years the contacts between the leaderships of our Parties have become more operative, comradely and business-like. Practically all problems of any essential significance which are of common interest are discussed collectively. Naturally, this helps to work out the most effective solutions, averts possible mistakes and deepens understanding between us.

The Communist Parties of socialist countries are carrying out responsible tasks. Bearing aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communists and the peoples of the fraternal countries are multiplying their achievements in economic, scientific and cultural development, in evolving new forms of genuine rule by the people. The importance of this work, which creates the prototype of the future life of all mankind, is truly hard to overestimate.

We support and shall continue to support our friends of the socialist countries who are contending with difficult conditions—the Vietnamese comrades who have for several years been directing the historic battle against the US aggressors; the Communists of Cuba, who are courageously building socialism in a situation marked by unceasing subversive activities, an economic blockade and political pressure by US imperialism; the Korean Party of Labour, which has to repulse unremitting provocations by the US imperialists and their Seoul puppets. We invariably support and closely co-operate with the German Democratic Republic which directly confronts German revanchism.

Allow me wholeheartedly to wish further successes to Communists of all fraternal socialist countries who by their efforts strengthen the common front of our struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, the achievements of world socialism are indisputable. At the same time, it is common knowledge that in the development of the world socialist system there are difficulties as well. Permit me to dwell on this question in somewhat greater detail.

Lenin emphasised that the road to socialism "will never be straight, it will be incredibly involved" (*Coll. Works,*

Vol. 27, p. 130). The CPSU, which had to be the first to blaze the road to socialism, knows from its own experience that this is not an easy road. After all, this road involves a fundamental break with many age-old traditions affecting the interests of all classes and social groups, the creation of an absolutely new type of social relations and the bringing up of people with a new psychology, a new world outlook. It involves, especially where relations between states are concerned, the surmounting of deep-rooted national strife and distrust.

Life itself and the practice of socialist transformations have shown that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the socialisation of the means of production only create the objective prerequisites, the objective possibilities for resolving all these problems. The way these possibilities are realised in practice depends chiefly on the ruling Communist Parties, on their ability to resolve in a Marxist, in a Leninist way the complex problems posed by life. This ability does not come at once. It comes as a result of generalising the practical experience of the people, as a result of thought and an analysis of the traversed road and of possible prospects.

But it is not only a matter of the objective complexity of the very process of building socialism and new relations between socialist countries. Many of the difficulties which these countries encounter in the course of their development are closely linked with imperialism's constant striving to pressure the socialist world, to exert economic, political and ideological pressure on it. The attempts of the imperialists to undermine the positions of socialism from within and inject elements of discord and alienation into the relations between socialist countries do not cease for a single day. Wherever vigilance is blunted, where Communists underestimate the need for a class approach to social phenomena, the intrigues of the imperialists lead to definite results—to the activation of Right-opportunist and even openly anti-socialist elements and to the intensification of nationalistic sentiments.

However, none of the difficulties arising during the building of socialism in one country or another have been able to or can cancel the general principles underlying socialist development. The practice of the socialist countries has reaffirmed the significance of the ideas of Marx and

Lenin that the development of socialist society proceeds on the basis of general laws, that in one form or another the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., state leadership of the building of socialism by the working class, is inevitable during the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The whole experience of the political struggle proves again and again that the victory of the trend towards consolidating fraternal relations between socialist states and that the progress of the socialist system itself are indissolubly linked with the strengthening of the leading role of the Communist Parties in the building of socialism and communism. Our Party highly values the determined struggle which the Communists of fraternal countries wage against any attempts to weaken the leading role of the Communist Parties, replace socialist democracy with political liberalism of the bourgeois type and erode the positions of socialism. To be as firm as Lenin in defending and upholding the principles of socialism is the lesson which life teaches us.

We fully subscribe to the provision formulated in the draft of the Main Document that the main direction in cementing the socialist system is steadfastly to implement the principles of socialist internationalism, correctly combine the national and international tasks of socialist countries and promote fraternal mutual assistance and support between them on the basis of a consistent observance of the equality of all socialist countries, of their sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in their internal affairs.

World socialism absorbs all the wealth and diversity of the revolutionary traditions and experience deriving from the creative activity of the working people of different countries. In this connection we should like to say that our Party constantly studies that experience and utilises everything of value that may be applied in the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union, everything that really helps to strengthen the socialist system and embodies the general laws of socialist construction that have been tested by international experience.

Nobody can deny that the ruling Communist Parties have accomplished and are engaged in extensive work of historic significance. Naturally, it cannot be said that ways of resolving all problems have been found and that we know all and are able to do all. Life does not stand still.

In place of resolved problems others arise, which are linked with the need for a further improvement of socialist social relations. Like other Communist Parties of socialist countries, the CPSU seeks to resolve these problems creatively, in good time and consistently in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the concrete conditions of its own country and the international situation.

By working for a further strengthening of fraternal relations between sovereign and equal socialist states and mobilising the working people for fresh achievements in the building of socialism and communism, the Communist Parties directing the building of the new society fulfil their duty to their own peoples and their internationalist duty to the working class of the whole world.

Comrades, *one of the decisive sectors of the anti-imperialist struggle naturally runs through the capitalist countries themselves.* The blows which the revolutionary forces are dealing imperialism in its very citadels are highly important for the whole of world development. The 1960s have introduced many new elements in this front of struggle as well.

A sharpening of the class struggle in the capitalist world is an inexorable fact. Suffice it to say that from 1960 to 1968 a total of over 300 million persons took part in the strike struggle, as compared with 150 million over the preceding 14 years. This fact alone gives the lie to the assertions about a weakening of the working class's fighting spirit.

It is important, comrades, to emphasise yet another specific feature of this period. Not long ago in the capitalist world there were countries which the bourgeoisie regarded as havens of what they called "social peace"; there are no longer any such countries today. Everywhere the working people are fighting for their vital interests—from the United States, where there were almost 5,000 strikes last year, to Japan, where the working people's "spring offensive" that same year involved 14 million persons; from France, where almost 10 million were on strike in May and June 1968, and Italy, where 18 million took part in the general strike in February 1969, to Uruguay and Chile, where massive strikes and demonstrations by working people flare up again and again.

Of very great importance is the fact that the strikers have ever more frequently succeeded in imposing their demands on the capitalists. This lends the working people confidence in their strength, and stimulates the further development and extension of the front of struggle. The working class sees for itself that while the bourgeoisie may still be mounting counter-attacks, its strength is far from what it used to be.

Under the changing world balance of forces and the sharpening of the class struggle in the bourgeois countries, capitalism has to resort to new means and methods of struggle which in many ways appear even to clash with the habitual "classic" features of the capitalist system. In an effort to reinforce their social hinterland areas, the capitalists combine methods of suppression with partial satisfaction of the working people's demands—a method which Lenin said was one of "concessions of the unessential while retaining the essential" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 64)—sowing the illusions that the working class can achieve its aspirations through agreements with the employers, without a revolutionary transformation of society, within the framework of the capitalist system.

Quite a few people in many capitalist countries fall captive to these illusions. It is, after all, a fact, for instance, that at election time a sizable section of the workers cast their votes for capitalist candidates and their placemen. But for all the machinations of the capitalists, the social struggle in the 1960s showed signs of shifts in favour of the revolutionary forces whose importance it is hard to exaggerate.

In this situation Communists face new problems and tasks whose successful solution will largely predetermine the further development of the struggle for the working-class cause.

First of all, as many fraternal Parties have correctly noted, the communist movement must draw the conclusions from the incontestable fact that in the capitalist world there is a sharp increase of massive popular pressure for social change, with the characteristic fact that the class struggle is intertwining ever closer with action by working people against the imperialists' military gambles, against the resurgence of fascism, for the safeguarding and extension of democratic freedoms, and for national independence.

The antagonism between imperialism, which intensifies social oppression and rejects democracy, and the masses of people, who are fighting for their vital rights and striving for freedom and democracy, is growing sharper. In some countries the discontent among the people is so great that sometimes as little as a spark is enough to set off a powerful social explosion. Such explosions are becoming ever more frequent everywhere, including the United States, where the most acute social contradictions, the struggle against the war in Vietnam and the fight for Negro civil rights are tangled in a tight knot. It is a long time since imperialism has been confronted with such violent forms of social protest and with general democratic action of the present scale and pitch. Ever more frequently broad masses of peasants, intellectuals, white-collar workers, students and middle strata of the urban population actively join with the working class in this struggle.

In these conditions, it is inevitable that elements of surprise and spontaneity should arise in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle in the advanced capitalist countries. Experience shows that in such a situation special importance attaches to the problem of relations between the working class and its allies. This is a question both of jointly taking various concrete political actions and of planning long-term co-operation on a mutually acceptable basis.

As the draft Main Document correctly says, the requisites are emerging for uniting all democratic trends in a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role of the monopolies in the economy of countries, putting an end to big capital rule and carrying out fundamental transformation which would ensure favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism.

The working class is the leading force of the alliance. It is the only class capable of leading this alliance to victory, and of raising the struggle to a new level, securing the complete abolition of the power of capital and the triumph of socialism. No other class, no other social stratum of society is as organised and strong. The numerical strength of the working-class ranks is enormous. Its revolutionary experience is exceptionally rich. Its ideological, cultural and spiritual level has been rising from year to year. The political and moral prestige enjoyed by it in society has grown immeasurably.

While intensifying their work in the midst of the working class, including the rather sizable section of it which is not unionised, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries devote much attention to their activity in the most diverse mass organisations of which workers are members—co-operatives, sports clubs, and democratic circles of religious bodies taking part in the struggle for peace—in short, wherever there are large numbers of working people.

Work in the midst of the peasant masses of the capitalist states continues to be of great importance. The working peasants remain the chief allies of the working class, despite the fact that there has been a considerable diminution of their numerical strength in the advanced capitalist countries. The concentration of agricultural production in the hands of big entrepreneurs entails ever spreading ruin of the small and middle farmers and an aggravation of social contradictions in the countryside. In many capitalist countries the 1960s were marked by large-scale peasant strikes, with the peasants fighting for their rights more and more frequently demanding unity of action with the working class.

A new light is now shed on many aspects of work with the intelligentsia, especially with that section of it which together with the working class is engaged in industry and is being subjected to growing exploitation. The professions requiring mental work are becoming prevalent. The engineering and technical intelligentsia in the capitalist countries is now being drawn not only from the bourgeoisie but also from the middle sections and in part from among the working people as well. To a considerable extent all this is changing intelligentsia's attitude to the capitalist system and brings its interests closer to those of the working class.

The Communist Parties must take these changes into account. Experience has shown that more extensive work with the intelligentsia makes it more active in the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is natural that the fraternal Parties now devote considerable attention to work among the young people. It is a fact after all that the rising generation in the capitalist countries, including the students, is in revolutionary ferment. Young people are actively coming out in opposition to imperialist wars, to the militarisation of bourgeois society, and to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to curtail the working people's democratic rights.

It is true that frequently youth actions reveal a lack of political experience and connection with the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. That is why the actions are often spontaneous and assume politically immature forms. An effort to use this is made by extremist elements essentially hostile to communism, and sometimes by direct imperialist agents. There is no doubt, however, that once the young fighters against imperialism have mastered the theory of scientific socialism and have acquired experience of class battles, they will do great things.

Consequently, there is every indication that the possibilities of the anti-imperialist struggle are extending. The experience of a number of fraternal Parties, which have made skilful use of these new possibilities, testifies that prospects for the activity of the Communists in capitalist countries are broad. If we take the latest developments, for example, this is borne out by one-fifth of all the votes polled in the first round of the French presidential election by Jacques Duclos, prominent French Communist Party figure and veteran of the international communist movement.

The increasing possibilities of combatting imperialism accordingly increase the role of the Communist Parties and of their work among the masses. On the activity of Communists will largely depend world development in the closing third of the twentieth century. One cannot fail to see that not only the material but also the socio-political conditions are maturing for a revolutionary replacement of capitalism with the new social system, for socialist revolutions.

By closing the fighting ranks of staunch revolutionaries, carrying Marxist-Leninist ideology into the midst of the working-class masses and rallying the allies of the working class round it, Communists fulfil their historic mission in the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism.

Comrades, *the fighters for national liberation and social emancipation in the countries of Asia and Africa comprise one of the important and active contingents of the world-wide anti-imperialist front.*

The 1960s have brought considerable changes into the alignment of forces in that part of the world. In that period, 44 former colonies won independence. But more than 35 million people remain in colonial slavery. The peoples of the last colonies are waging a heroic, as a rule, armed struggle for their liberation. Soviet Communists fully sup-

port this just struggle.

The socialist orientation of a number of young states of Africa and Asia is an important achievement of the revolutionary forces and a heavy defeat for imperialism. These countries have scored their first successes in putting through deep-going social and economic reforms, thereby providing fresh practical confirmation of Lenin's conclusion that in our epoch the peoples who win liberation from colonial oppression can advance along the path of social progress, by-passing capitalism. One of the most important conditions which make such development possible is co-operation between the progressive young states and the socialist countries.

The states which have embarked on non-capitalist development are making a tangible contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle. It is true that these states are still few and that there are many difficulties in their development. Apart from the serious internal problems which remain, it should be borne in mind that it is above all against the progressive states of Africa and Asia that the subversive policy of imperialism on these continents is directed. But whatever the difficulties, they cannot minimise the importance of the cardinal fact that a start has been made in a fundamentally new direction for the development of the newly independent countries. And their example will carry the greater conviction the more headway the revolutionary-democratic countries make in their economic and cultural development, the fuller the advantages of non-capitalist development are revealed.

Communists regard assistance to and support of these young countries as one of the most important tasks of their foreign policy. The work the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have been doing in this direction is generally known. Considerable possibilities in this respect are also open to the fraternal Parties in the developed capitalist countries.

In a number of countries of the former colonial world, as a result of inadequate organisation or of passive attitudes by the progressive forces, power was seized, after the proclamation of political independence, by reactionary elements closely linked up with imperialism. Some of these countries are ruled by military dictatorships, and a reign of terror has been instituted against all progressive forces. The im-

perialist states use the territories of many of these countries for their aggressive purposes, notably, for military bases. The conditions of struggle for Communists and their allies in these countries are in many respects similar to the conditions of the colonial period.

However, what can be said about a considerable part of the states liberated from colonial dependence is, perhaps, that their further path has not yet been clearly defined. An intense struggle for the future rages in these countries between the progressive forces and internal reaction supported by imperialism. In these countries, the process of internal social division is deepening. The working people are ever more actively demanding far-reaching reforms capable of providing answers to burning fundamental problems. On the other hand, the top crust of the national bourgeoisie, guided by its class interests, resists social progress and the pursuit of any consistent anti-imperialist line. An increasingly acute class struggle is unfolding on this basis.

The tasks now facing the newly independent countries are complex and diverse. It is a question of consolidating the independence they have won, to secure the establishment of an independent national economy and to overcome the legacy of backwardness. All this can be achieved only through progressive social development and consistent struggle against imperialism, through an alliance with the socialist countries and the international working-class movement.

Imperialism is actively working to slow down the advance towards independence and social progress, to keep its former colonies within the framework of the capitalist system, and to retain them as objects of exploitation, even if in modified form. With their stake on nationalism and separatism, the imperialist forces are trying to weaken the developing countries from within, to range them against each other and to hamper their contacts with the socialist world.

All this is a most grave threat to the future of the young independent countries. Their peoples are gradually coming to realise that neocolonialism is no lesser danger than colonialism. This means that ahead lie most acute battles between the fighters for real freedom and those who would like to fetter the young national states with the chains of a new bondage. In this struggle, the formation of a sound alliance of all progressive, all anti-imperialist forces acquires crucial importance.

The central question of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa today is that of the stand of the peasantry, which there constitutes a majority of the population.

The peasants in that part of the world are a mighty revolutionary force, but in most cases they are an elemental force, with all the ensuing vacillations and ideological and political contradictions. Nor could it have been otherwise for the time being, because the great majority of the peasantry still lives in conditions of monstrous poverty and denial of rights, surviving feudal and sometimes even pre-feudal relations.

The experience of the revolutionary movement in various parts of the world has shown that the surest way of effectively involving the peasants in the struggle against imperialism, for true social progress, is to establish a strong alliance between them and the working class. That is also the task in the zone of national liberation.

However, history has shaped the situation in such a way that in most states of Asia and Africa there is still no large-scale industry, and a working class has yet to emerge. But wherever industrial development is underway, the working-class movement has won substantial positions. The agricultural proletariat of these countries is also active in the struggle. There is no doubt that ahead lies the broadest development of the working-class struggle in the young national states against imperialism and its allies. It is the working-class movement that will ultimately play the decisive part in this area of the world too.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry will make it possible to carry the national liberation revolutions to the end and totally eliminate the legacy of colonialism, and make the movement to socialism more confident and purposeful.

A great responsibility devolves on us Communists in this sphere. Tremendous attention to the proletariat's peasant ally, and additional elaboration of some aspects of strategy and tactics in application to the specific conditions in the former colonial countries is demanded of the communist movement.

In present-day conditions, the problem of relations between the working class and the peasantry in the former colonial countries is largely of an international nature. It is a question of consolidating the alliance of the whole inter-

national working class with the peasantry, with all the working people of the young liberated countries. This includes the strengthening of the revolutionary alliance between the national liberation movement, the young national states and the countries of the socialist community, and the promotion of the closest ties between the fighters for national liberation and the Communist Parties coming forward as the vanguard of the international working class.

In this context we attach great importance to contacts and ties between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary-democratic parties in the developing countries. These parties and organisations are our fellow-fighters in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress. At present, the CPSU has contacts and ties with 18 national-democratic parties, while Soviet mass organisations have connections with democratic organisations in all countries of that part of the world. We believe everything has to be done so that the relations between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary-democratic parties continue to grow stronger.

* * *

Thus, comrades, a realistic assessment of the present state of affairs in the world, a comparison between the development of imperialism, on the one hand, and of all the forces opposing it, on the other, warrants only one conclusion: the main lines of world development continue to be determined by the activity of the forces of revolution and socialism, of the peace forces and the national liberation movement.

Communists, of course, refuse to be complacent and smug. We are well aware that ahead of us lies an intense struggle in the most diverse sectors. And the role of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is to make sure not to lose touch with the actual conditions of this struggle, correctly define its principal stages and motive forces and rouse the masses to the battle against imperialism.

For the Communist and Workers' Parties the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for our ultimate goals, for the winning of political power by the working class in alliance with all the other contingents of the working people, for socialism. We believe the cohesion of the Communists of the world, the strengthening of the alliance of all the anti-imperialist forces to be the key to success.

II.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND UNITY OF ACTION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards with the greatest attention and respect the great work being carried on by our foreign comrades.

The historical experience of many countries, the experience of the class struggle has given convincing evidence of how necessary the activity of the Communist Parties is for mankind and how fruitful this activity is for social developement. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Parties show the peoples the road to the communist future. They rally the peoples to the struggle and steadfastly march in the van of the mass movements for the great goals of social progress. Communists are always in the front ranks of the fighters for the vital rights of the working people, for peace. They carry high the invincible banner of the socialist revolution.

Soviet Communists, whose path to the socialist revolution was complex and difficult, are well aware of the tension, the determination and flexibility, steadfastness of spirit and readiness at any moment to sacrifice everything for the Party's cause that the revolutionary fighters confronting the

class enemy must constantly display. These qualities of Communists are of especial importance in our time, a time of intense and dogged class battles.

The succeses which the Communist Parties have achieved are incontestable. But our Meeting is right to concentrate its attention on unresolved tasks, on the new possibilities in the anti-imperialist struggle, on the difficulties that arise in its path. Such difficulties do exist, and some of them spring from the state of affairs in our movement itself, which is going through a difficult period of its development. Unity has been seriously disrupted in some of its links. Some fraternal Parties have suffered setbacks and even defeats.

There are various reasons for these difficulties.

One of them is connected with the fact that in present-day conditions, when a tremendous social break-up of the pillars of the old world is taking place under the onslaught of socialism and all the revolutionary forces, there is growing resistance from the bourgeoisie. To safeguard its positions it strives to use all the economic and political possibilities of state-monopoly capitalism. In the capitalist countries, anti-communism has been elevated to the status of state policy. To erode the communist and the whole revolutionary movement from within is now one of the most important directions of the class strategy of imperialism.

Another reason for the difficulties that have arisen is that fresh millions of people belonging to various social strata are being drawn into vigorous political action. Many of them enter politics with a great store of revolutionary energy, but with rather hazy ideas about how to solve the problems agitating them. Hence the vacillations—the swings from stormy political explosions to political passivity, from reformist illusions to anarchic impatience. All this tends to complicate the activity of the Communist Parties, multiplies the number of their tasks and increases the volume of demand on their practical work. In this situation, Communists must display Marxist-Leninist firmness and loyalty to principle and a creative approach to the problems of social development, if they are to keep control of developments, and tackle their problems in the light not only of short-term requirements but also of the long-term interests of the revolutionary movement. Otherwise, grave errors in policy are inevitable.

We cannot afford to ignore the divergences existing in the communist movement today and pretend they do not exist. These differences have been largely caused by the penetration into the communist movement of revisionist influences both of a Right and of a "Left" nature. And these influences are making themselves felt not only in the sphere of "pure" theory. Revisionism in theory paves the way to opportunist practices, which inflict direct harm on the anti-imperialist struggle. Revisionism is, after all, a departure from proletarian class positions, a substitution for Marxism-Leninism of all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts, old and modernistic.

We share the stand of the fraternal Parties which in their decisions draw attention to the need for resolutely combatting this danger. The Communist Parties justly believe that the interests of their own cohesion, the interests of the whole anti-imperialist movement insistently demand an intensification of the struggle against revisionism and both Right and "Left" opportunism. A principled stand on this issue has always been a most important condition for strengthening a Party's political positions and has always mobilised and enhanced the activity of Communists in the class struggle.

Right-wing opportunism means a slide-down to liquidationist positions and to conciliation with Social-Democracy in policy and ideology. In socialist countries, Right-wing opportunism goes to the extent of repudiating that the Marxist-Leninist Party should play the leading role, and this can lead to surrender of the positions won by socialism and to capitulation to the anti-socialist forces.

"Left"-wing opportunists, behind a barrage of ultra-revolutionary verbiage, push the masses into adventurist action, and the Party onto the sectarian path, which paralyses its ability to rally the fighters against imperialism.

For all their distinctions, deviations from Marxism-Leninism to the Right or to the "Left" ultimately result in similarly harmful consequences: they weaken the militancy of the Communist Parties and undermine the revolutionary positions of the working class and the unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

A frequent feature of "Left"- and Right-wing opportunism is concessions to nationalism, and sometimes even an outright switch to nationalistic positions. Lenin showed up

this connection a long time ago. He wrote, "The ideological and political affinity, connection, and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism are beyond doubt" (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 21, p. 154).

Of course, the struggle against opportunism and nationalism in one country or another is, above all, a sphere within the competence of the fraternal Party concerned. No Party can advance successfully unless it consistently and resolutely upholds the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles. But it is also true that when this struggle is abandoned in some sector of our movement, it is reflected on the movement as a whole.

The stand taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of China offers a striking example of the harm that can be done to the common cause of the Communists by a departure from Marxism-Leninism and a break with internationalism.

Frankly speaking, just recently we had no intention at all of touching on this question at the Meeting. However, the events of the recent period, particularly the nature of the decisions taken by the Ninth Congress of the CPC, have forced us to deal with it. There has arisen a new situation which is having a grave negative influence on the whole world situation and the conditions of the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces.

Peking's present political platform, as you are well aware, was not shaped either today or yesterday. Almost 10 years ago Mao Tse-tung and his supporters mounted an attack on the principles of scientific communism. In its numerous statements on questions of theory the CPC leadership has step by step revised the principled line of the communist movement. In opposition to this it has laid down a special line of its own on all the fundamental questions of our day.

At the same time, Peking started a political offensive against the communist movement. This offensive steadily gathered momentum, assuming ever sharper and open forms. From polemics with the Communist Parties the CPC leaders went on to splitting, subversive activity, to active attempts to range the revolutionary forces of our day against each other. From a folding up of their ties with the socialist countries to hostile acts against them. From criticism of peaceful coexistence to the staging of armed conflicts, to a policy undermining the cause of peace.

The Ninth Congress of the CPC marked a new stage in the evolution of the ideological and political propositions of Maoism. In the new Rules of the CPC, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been proclaimed the Marxism-Leninism of the modern epoch. Chinese propaganda openly proclaims the task of "hoisting the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over the globe".

It is a big and serious task to make an all-round Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class content of the events in China over the last few years, and of the roots of the present line of the CPC leaders, who have jeopardised the socialist gains of the Chinese people. The CPSU, like the other fraternal Parties, is giving it due attention. But in the light of the tasks facing the Meeting there is a need to dwell here, primarily, on the international aspects of the Chinese leadership's policy. It is doubly important to speak about it, because a section of progressive world opinion still believes that the present Chinese leadership has revolutionary aspirations, believes its assertions that it is fighting imperialism.

It seems to us that the Ninth Congress of the CPC revealed whom the Chinese leadership is really fighting, and for what purpose. The Congress indicated the necessity of "a merciless struggle" principally against so-called "modern revisionism". Yet, as we know, under this category Peking classifies not revisionists, but the overwhelming majority of the socialist countries and Communist Parties.

You will recall that the Chinese leadership accused the Communist Parties of France, India, the United States, Italy, Latin America, and other countries of refusal "to conduct revolution", of being renegades, and of other deadly sins. "Traitors", "social strike-breakers", "social-imperialists"—those are the labels attached to many of the Parties represented here. Everybody here knows what insults were showered on all the participants in the present Meeting by the CPC leadership in its reply to our invitation.

The Peking leaders impute "revisionism" to all Parties that do not share their views and aims. They resort to all possible means against these Parties—from slanderous charges of "connivance with imperialism" to organising subversive splinter groups. Such groups now exist in nearly 30 countries. The Peking leadership is trying to give them the nature of an organised movement.

The damage done by Peking's splitting activities should not be underestimated. Recent class battles clearly showed what great harm Peking's activity, which prods people on to an adventurist path, is doing to the organised struggle of the working class, of all working people.

The present Peking leadership's fight against the Marxist-Leninist Parties for hegemony in the communist movement is linked closely with its Great-Power aspirations, with its claims to territory of other countries. The idea that China has a messianic role to play is drummed into the heads of the Chinese workers and peasants. A wholesale conditioning of minds in the spirit of chauvinism and malicious anti-Sovietism is under way. Children are taught geography by textbooks and maps that show territory of other countries as belonging to the Chinese state. The Chinese people are being oriented to "starve and prepare for war". Nor is any doubt left about what sort of war is meant. Only two days ago the Peking *Kuangming jihpao* issued the call "to prepare both for a conventional and a big nuclear war against Soviet revisionism". Of course, noisy statements are a far cry from actual possibilities. The Soviet Union has enough strength to stand up for itself, and the Soviet people have strong nerves—they will not be frightened by shouting. But the direction of official Chinese propaganda speaks for itself.

In the light of all this, the policy to militarise China takes on a specific meaning. We cannot help comparing the feverish military preparations with the fanning of chauvinistic feelings hostile to the socialist countries, with the general approach by the Chinese leaders to the problems of war and peace in the modern epoch.

Possibly, many of the comrades here remember Mao Tse-tung's speech in this hall during the 1957 Meeting. With appalling airiness and cynicism he spoke of the possible destruction of half of mankind in the event of an atomic war. The facts show that Maoism calls not for struggle against war but, on the contrary, for war which it regards as a positive historical phenomenon.

The combination of the Chinese leaders' political adventurism with the sustained atmosphere of war hysteria injects new elements into the international situation, and we have no right to ignore it.

Peking's practical activity on the international scene convinces us increasingly that China's foreign policy has, in effect, departed from proletarian internationalism and lost the socialist class content. That is the only possible explanation for the persistent efforts to identify the Soviet Union and US imperialism. What is more, these days the spearhead of Peking's foreign policy is aimed chiefly against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. For a start, the Chinese leaders reduced to a minimum China's economic contacts with most of the socialist states and rejected political co-operation with them, ending up with armed provocations on the Soviet frontier. Provocative calls resound from Peking, exhorting the Soviet people to "accomplish a revolution", to change the social system in our country.

The facts show that the Chinese leadership speaks of struggle against imperialism, while in fact helping the latter, directly or indirectly, by everything it does. It helps the imperialists by seeking to split the united front of the socialist states. It helps them by its incitement and its obstructions to relaxation of international tension at times of acute international crises. It helps them by striving to hamper the emergence of a broad anti-imperialist front, by seeking to split the international mass organisations of youth, women and scientists, the peace movement, the trade union movement, and so on.

Naturally, the imperialists make the most of Peking's present orientation in the field of foreign policy as a trump in their political struggle against world socialism and the liberation movement.

To sum up: the attack on the Soviet Union all down the line, the specious propaganda, mud-slinging at the Soviet people, at our socialist state, our Communist Party, fanning hatred against the USSR among the people of China and, last but not least, resort to arms; intimidation and blackmail in relation to other socialist states and the developing countries; flirting with the big capitalist powers, including the Federal Republic of Germany—those are the guidelines of China's present foreign policy.

As you know, comrades, in March the Soviet Government, striving to end the clashes organised by the Chinese side on the Soviet-Chinese border, called on the Government of China to refrain from border actions that might

create complications, and resolve differences, wherever these occur, by negotiation in tranquil atmosphere. We proposed that the Soviet-Chinese consultations on border issues, which were begun in 1964, should be resumed in the immediate future. At the same time, we warned them that any attempt to deal with the Soviet Union in terms of armed power would be firmly repulsed.

Recently, the Chinese Government made public its reply. If one may judge from words, the Chinese side does not reject the idea of negotiations. There are also expressions of consent to avoid conflicts on the border and refrain from opening fire. At present, we are preparing a pertinent reply to this Chinese statement. This reply, like the Soviet Government's statement of March 29, will naturally be in complete accord with our principled stand: to settle differences through negotiation and to favour equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation.

It should be pointed out, however, that the statement of the CPR Government can hardly be described as constructive either in content or spirit. The wordy document is full of historical falsifications, distortions of the facts of modern times and of crude hostile attacks against the Soviet Union. It renews groundless territorial claims on the Soviet Union, which we categorically reject.

The future will show whether the Chinese leaders are really eager to negotiate, whether they desire agreement, and what course events will take. However, we cannot afford to overlook the fact that the provocations by Chinese military personnel on the Soviet border have not stopped. At the same time, an unprecedentedly broad and intensive anti-Soviet campaign is being conducted all over China on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the CPC. The idea is being drummed into the heads of the Chinese people that the Soviet Union allegedly wants to attack China.

It is needless to refute these fabrications. Not only Communists, but all decent people on earth know perfectly well that our people are preoccupied with peaceful creative labour, building communist society, and that they have never attacked nor intend to attack anyone.

Our policy with regard to China is consistent and based on principle. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government chart their policy on the long-term per-

spective. We are conscious of the fact that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples coincide. We have always persevered and will continue to persevere in our efforts to keep alive the friendly feelings of the Soviet people for the fraternal Chinese nation, and are certain that the Chinese people, too, have the same feelings towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

At the same time we do not consider it possible to remain silent about the anti-Leninist, anti-popular essence of the political and ideological principles of the present leaders of China. We shall carry on a resolute struggle against Peking's splitting policy and against its Great-Power foreign-policy line. It stands to reason that we shall do everything to safeguard the interests of the Soviet people, who are building communism, from all encroachments.

We do not identify the declarations and actions of the present Chinese leadership with the aspirations, wishes and true interests of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. We are deeply convinced that China's genuine national renascence, and its socialist development shall be best served not by struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the whole communist movement, but by alliance and fraternal co-operation with them.

Comrades, the situation created by the policy of the Chinese leadership introduces a new element into the problem of anti-imperialist unity. We Communists must take a responsible and clear stand. The policy of subverting the communist ranks, of dividing the anti-imperialist forces, can and must be opposed by our firm will for unity, by our deeds and joint actions promoting unity.

In their fight for unity the Communists have a tested weapon. It has brought victory in glorious battles for the cause of the working class, for socialism. That weapon is proletarian internationalism.

The imperialists are conscious of the power of international proletarian solidarity. That is why they bank on nationalism in fighting the socialist forces, the revolutionary movement. They expect thereby to divide and atomise the communist movement, to set the revolutionary contingents one against the other.

Bourgeois propaganda goes out of its way to malign the principle of proletarian internationalism and to oppose it

artificially to the principles of the independence, sovereignty and equality of the national contingents of the working class and communist movement. That is the purpose for which imperialist propagandists have fabricated and put into circulation the notorious theory of "limited sovereignty".

As for us, Soviet Communists, we hold that the present world situation again forcefully bears out the validity and viability of Lenin's concept of proletarian internationalism.

In our time, the time of a global confrontation of two worlds—that of capitalism and socialism—Lenin's principles about the internationalist class approach to national problems remain in full force.

As valid as ever, for example, is Lenin's definition that to be an internationalist is to do "the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 8, p. 292).

The proletarian Party derives its strength from its ability to use to the full the internal opportunities for struggle in the interests of its people, for its country's progress, and at the same time, in the interest of the common internationalist cause of revolution and socialism. On the other hand, attempts to "invigorate" the Party's position by weakening, or even breaking off, its international ties, by rejecting united action with other contingents of the communist movement, lead to loss of ideological independence from the bourgeoisie and inevitably injure the political prestige of the Party concerned.

It goes without saying, comrades, that all this does not refute or belittle the principles of the independence, sovereignty and equality of either the socialist countries or of individual national contingents of the world working-class and communist movement. Respect for, and strict observance of, these principles is for Communists an unbreakable law precisely because they are internationalists.

Genuine internationalism also implies support of the existing socialist society by all fraternal Parties. We think highly of the stand of our friends who are irreconcilable to any and all slander of socialism. For Communists that is not only a natural expression of their internationalist sentiments, but also an approach to internationalism as a real policy serving the common cause of revolution. For example, all of us agree that new opportunities have arisen in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence

and socialism by virtue of the radical change in the international arena in favour of socialism, to the detriment of imperialism. But this also means that any weakening of socialist positions in the world is bound to reflect negatively on the positions of all the Communist Parties.

For our Meeting, strengthening the unity of the communist movement is an important task. There are adequate objective preconditions for this. But we cannot confine ourselves to merely declaring once again that the interests of the various national contingents of our movement coincide. Unity means action, not words. It is not automatically attainable, and must be fought for.

When still preparing for this Meeting, all of us agreed that in order to strengthen the unity of the communist movement we must search for ways to overcome existing divergences. These are of different kinds. And, naturally, different courses must be employed to overcome them. In some cases doubts and questions may be removed through bilateral meetings and comradely discussion. In other cases they may be ironed out through the practical experience of the joint struggle for common aims in the international arena. But there are also differences that concern fundamental problems and the very essence of the communist movement. And it will probably take a long time and uncompromising struggle to overcome them.

Speaking of the line aimed at surmounting differences, we should like to dwell on three points.

To begin with, a word about the significance of joint action against imperialism for solidifying the communist movement. In the present conditions, with Communists bearing a direct responsibility for the destiny of their peoples, for the future of mankind, we cannot afford to put the matter thus: let's first resolve all the differences in our movement, and then come to terms about joint action. The realities require a different approach: differences over specific issues must not interfere with joint communist actions in our common struggle against imperialism; let us jointly tackle the practical tasks related to united action and then, in the course of our joint struggle, we shall see more clearly which views are in accord with the common interests of the communist movement and which go against these interests and interfere with, even injure, the common cause. In other words, that which brings the Communists of all countries together

should be put at the head of the list in our practical activity.

Secondly, we should like to emphasise the need for expanding in every way the ties and contacts among fraternal Parties. They are essential both as a mechanism for agreeing our actions on the international scene and as a means of comparing notes on current problems and of settling differences. In the present conditions, bilateral and multilateral meetings are doubly useful. The experience of the Vienna Conference of European Communist Parties, that of the Karlovy Vary Conference, the conferences of the fraternal Latin American Parties and meetings held by Communists of the Arab countries bore out the importance of regional meetings to discuss a specific round of questions and promote international communist co-operation. The practice of co-operation in the new conditions has also brought into being such a collective form as world conferences.

Last but not least, the third important way of overcoming differences and fighting for the unity of our movement is to generalise the theoretical work of the Parties, to advance Marxist-Leninist theory on that basis and to safeguard its principles and fundamental ideas. Lenin stressed the need for *theoretically* assessing the new forms of struggle prompted by practice. The practice of recent years has convincingly demonstrated the benefits for the whole communist movement of creatively elaborating such problems as the convergence in our epoch of the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary struggle, of correctly combining peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolution, and of the possibility of the non-capitalist development for the former colonial countries.

The creative approach to theory imparts strength and confidence to the builders of socialism and communism, to all Communists, wherever they may be.

As we see it, it would be useful to improve the methods of joint theoretical work by the Communist Parties, to devise concrete measures for improving mutual information, for studying each other's experience and organising regular exchanges of opinion. We declare ourselves in favour of regular international theoretical conferences.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and joint struggle for the common aim—that is what fuses our movement and secures

a high degree of unity. Our calls for a united anti-imperialist front will be a waste of breath unless we ourselves each day display our indomitable will to cement the communist ranks. That is why we consider Section IV of the draft Main Document of our Meeting, the section specifically devoted to these problems, of paramount importance.

Building up a world-wide anti-imperialist front, the task of tasks in our time, cannot be successful without struggle for the unity of the world communist movement.

Comrades, there is still another question, and one of extreme importance, that has a most direct bearing on the agenda of our Meeting. I think that all the comrades here will agree that the battle against imperialism cannot be won and the unity of our movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces cannot be achieved without the most active offensive against bourgeois ideology.

Imperialism cannot expect to succeed if it openly speaks of its true aims. It is compelled to create a system of ideological myths to disguise its true intentions and lull the vigilance of the peoples. For this purpose it has built up a mammoth propaganda machine equipped with all modern means of ideological indoctrination. Indeed, comrades, every hour, by day and by night, the working people of almost the entire world are to one or another extent subjected to the influence of bourgeois propaganda, of bourgeois ideology. The hired ideologists of the imperialists have created a special pseudo-culture designed to befuddle the masses, to blunt their social consciousness. And combatting its corrupting influence on the working people is an important area of communist work.

Comrades, we have a powerful weapon against bourgeois ideology. That weapon is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We know its potency well. We are witness to the fact that our ideas are spreading more and more among the masses. Marxism-Leninism is on the offensive today, and we must develop that offensive to the utmost. It is more important than ever to recall Lenin's warning that any relaxation by Communists in ideological work, any standing aloof from it, redoubles the influence of bourgeois ideology.

It is important that Communists in all countries should fight the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology on the working people. In this connection we should like to stress specifically the advantages of agreed efforts by fraternal

Parties, of mutual support in concrete actions designed to expose the ideological fabrications of the enemies of communism.

Communists must be in the van of the fight against imperialism in all sectors, including the ideological sector. We are convinced that by concerted efforts imperialism can be decisively defeated in all areas, a world-wide victory thereby achieved for the cause of the working class and all other working people.

Comrades, the draft Document of our Meeting contains the following call: "*Peoples of the socialist countries, proletarians and all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-free peoples and oppressed peoples, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism*!" In our view, it aptly expresses the requirement of our times.

At our Meeting we shall collectively define the main lines and concrete tasks in the struggle against imperialism in present-day conditions. By advancing them on behalf of our Parties, which in some countries are followed by entire nations and by the biggest trade unions and other democratic organisations, we shall take a very important step towards uniting all anti-imperialist forces. A democratic discussion of these lines and tasks with other participants in the anti-imperialist movement will enable us to work out concrete programmes of struggle at national and international levels.

We are deeply convinced that all this will help merge in a single torrent a wide range of social movements, political trends and organisations, and give the struggle a maximum of purpose. In the course of joint actions the anti-imperialist front will move more and more from the realm of slogans and conferences into the area of daily political practice.

In this connection we should like to go back to the question of the unity of the working-class movement and, in particular, to the problem of the relationship between Communists and Social-Democrats..

There is no reason to say that the consistent communist policy of promoting the unity of the working-class movement has been fruitless. The differentiation in the Social-Democratic movement is now more pronounced, and a certain section of it, including a few leading personalities, is de-

parting from anti-communist positions. The ties between trade unions of different orientation in separate countries and on an international scale have been activated. Instances when agreement and united action have been achieved by trade union centres of different orientation are now more numerous. Recent events in many capitalist countries have shown how deeply the masses desire unity in their practical struggle against the monopolies and their governments. However, this sound trend is running into the stubborn resistance of many Social-Democratic leaders.

The leadership of a considerable number of Social-Democratic parties, especially those prominent in the Socialist International, still consider fighting communism, fighting the socialist countries, their main task. We are aware that for some of them anti-communism is a way of disguising the failure of their own reformist policy, and for others a total renunciation of socialist aims and surrender to state-monopoly capitalism.

Social-Democratic leaders have often held, and now hold government office in some countries, but it is farthest from their minds to work for the transfer of power into the hands of the working class, and the socialist cause makes no progress there at all. It is not surprising that Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders try to discredit the real socialism built, or being built, by the peoples of a large group of countries under the leadership of Communists.

Their anti-communism delivers Right-wing Social-Democracy into the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie also in matters of international policy. In the past 20 years, Social-Democratic leaders in a number of countries laid the main accent in foreign affairs on strengthening "Atlantic solidarity," that is, strengthening the politico-military alliance of the West-European countries with the United States in the context of the North Atlantic Treaty.

That is why we avail ourselves of this forum to again remind the Social-Democratic leaders at this grave hour for the world that they and their anti-communism are responsible for the fact that the possibilities of the present-day working class in the fight against imperialism are not fully used!

Our stand in relation to Social-Democracy could not be clearer. We are combatting and shall continue to combat our ideological and political opponents in its ranks from

the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, we agree to co-operation, to joint action, with those genuinely prepared to fight imperialism, for peace, for the interests of the working people. There are vital issues in regard to which the need for unity of action by working-class Parties, including those responsible for the policy of their countries, is now particularly timely. Above all, this concerns questions related to averting a world war, building up a system of European security and combatting the threat of fascism.

Those are some of the considerations of the CPSU delegation concerning the problems of consolidating the communist movement and building up a broad anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

III.

THE CPSU IS LOYAL TO ITS INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

Comrades, for more than half a century the Soviet Union has been opposing imperialism in all sections—political, economic, ideological and military.

Immediately after the Civil War ended Lenin stressed: "We are exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437). Our Party holds that this proposition preserves its significance to this day. The defence capability of the Soviet Union and, to no small extent, of the entire socialist community, and the possibility of countering the imperialist policy of aggression and war depend on our economic achievements. Our possibilities of supporting the revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world likewise depend on these achievements. The force of the example of the new social system, which is becoming the best agitator for socialism both among the working people in the capitalist countries and the peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism, also depends on them.

Reviewing the traversed path, we Soviet Communists can say that economic development is a complex front of

struggle demanding a great and, moreover, sustained effort. For our country it was a particularly hard path owing to the economic backwardness inherited from the past and the enormous destruction caused by imperialist-imposed wars. All of you know how we surmounted these difficulties, what we achieved in economic development in Soviet years and what the impact of this was on the international situation and the world revolutionary movement.

Today I should like to cite only a few figures characterising the results of our work in the 1960s. During these eight years industrial output in the USSR has more than doubled. Agricultural production increased by almost one-third. The real incomes of the working people rose 43 per cent.

In the economic sphere the distance separating us from the United States, the most powerful and richest country in the capitalist world, has also shrunk appreciably. In 1960, our industrial output was 55 per cent of the American, while in 1968 it reached about 70 per cent.

These figures naturally do not give a full picture of the work which the Soviet people have accomplished. A few words must be said not only about the quantitative but also the qualitative aspect of the matter.

In recent years, especially since the beginning of the current five-year plan which was drawn up in accordance with the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, this aspect of activity has become, we might say, the object of special concern by our Party. While being fully aware of the importance of preserving high rates of gross economic growth, we embarked on a course of building up the most advanced national economy in the world both for economic efficiency and for its scientific and technological level. The past years have been quite fruitful in this respect, too.

The pattern of industry is being seriously changed through the accelerated development of sectors which determine technological progress—chemical, radio electronic, instrument-making, precision and heavy engineering and other industries.

Prerequisites for major advances in agriculture, where we had quite a few difficulties, have also been created in recent years. Never before has the state allocated such large capital investments for the comprehensive mechanisa-

tion, electrification and chemisation of agriculture, and for land improvement.

A reorganisation of the management of our economy has been undertaken in recent years on the initiative of the Party; we have launched in earnest on the improvement of planning and management methods. This extensive work has not been completed yet, but we can already see how favourably it has affected the national economy.

I should like to stress, comrades, that our country's unquestioned achievements in recent years have not made us lose sight of the shortcomings which exist in our work and of the serious problems confronting us.

Such problems are constantly raised by life. This is not surprising if we bear in mind the scale of the Soviet economy, its rapid growth rates and the diversity of the requirements and needs of such a large country as ours. Moreover, the very dialectics of development is such that the higher the level a society attains, the more complex and the bigger the tasks it sets itself.

It is precisely in the current period that such tasks are being profoundly studied. A new five-year plan is being drawn up which is to become another major step in the building of communism, in implementing the CPSU Programme. Naturally, in that plan we seek to embody the main trends of the country's economic development, the principal long-term tasks.

The task of accelerating scientific and technological progress must be first of all singled out among them.

The draft Main Document of the Meeting stresses that the broad development of the scientific and technological revolution has become one of the principal sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism. Our Party fully subscribes to such an understanding of the problem.

Utilising the advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet Union has made great headway in the development of modern science and technology. We were the first to place nuclear energy at the service of peace and the first to emerge into outer space; we have registered many other remarkable accomplishments which have advanced the Soviet Union to the forefront of scientific and technological progress.

But, speaking of these successes, we do not want to underrate the forces of those with whom we have to compete in the scientific and technological sphere. Here the struggle will be a long and difficult one. And we are fully resolved to wage it in earnest so as to demonstrate the superiority of socialism in this sphere as well. This meets not only the interests of communist construction in our country but also those of world socialism, and the entire revolutionary and liberation movement.

To achieve, as we should like, a further considerable advance in science and technology is a very difficult task involving great effort and large capital investments. It demands the training of vast personnel—even though already today our country has one-fourth of all the scientists in the world. Furthermore, it is necessary to raise the educational level and the professional know-how of millions upon millions of people who will have to operate the new technology. An imperative demand of our time is to integrate science and production. We have to establish many new scientific centres and educational establishments, further and very substantially step up the scale of research, create and widely introduce control systems based on the latest scientific achievements and the employment of electronic computery. All these tasks, apparently, will be given a worthy place in our new five-year plan.

The paramount task of socialist society—that of raising the standard of living of the working people—always remains in the foreground of our Party's activities. In this sphere our country has likewise attained tangible results. Representatives of fraternal Parties, who have been to the Soviet Union more than once, can judge of this not only from dry statistics but also from personal impressions.

If account is taken of what we started from and what difficulties we had to surmount, the achieved living standard of the working people should be assessed as a great victory. But our people's requirements are growing steadily, making ever higher demands on our industry and agriculture. I shall cite only one example. Every day about 8,000 families move to new flats or their housing conditions are improved—every day, comrades—but the housing problem remains quite acute. What is the reason for it? The point is that according to present-day standards it is usually a question not simply of living quarters but of a separate

flat with all amenities for each family, moreover, while preserving the lowest rent in the world.

Another task which we regard as important is to bring the working people of the countryside nearer to urban dwellers for the level of well-being, cultural and other services, for way of life and all amenities. For our country where many million people live in villages this task is as difficult as it is important.

We expect that the new five-year plan will be an important step towards solving these problems.

All of us would like these problems to be solved more swiftly. But the international situation prevents us from using all of the country's resources for economic development, improving the working people's living standard and promoting culture. Large resources have to be appropriated for defence. And I can assure you that we maintain it at the highest level. Our Armed Forces reliably protect the borders of our homeland, and together with the allied armies they stand guard over the gains of the fraternal socialist countries, over the peace and security of the nations.

We set ourselves big tasks in the social and political sphere.

In the forefront here is the further development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the Soviet state. Life and the experience of our country and other socialist countries have taught us to consider these tasks in their inseverable unity. Without a well-coordinated state machine, functioning smoothly in all its links, it is impossible to run the intricate and fine organism of a modern economy and other aspects of social life, to say nothing of the country's defence.

A socialist state draws its strength from its inseparable bond with the people and the participation of the broadest masses in the administration of the country and of social affairs. This is exactly what socialist democracy is called upon to ensure. Its improvement and extension constitute the main trend in the political development of Soviet society on the road to communism.

It is naturally a matter of developing socialist democracy of a clear-cut class content designated to serve the cause of socialism. " 'Pure democracy'," Lenin stressed, "is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the

place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 242). This Leninist conclusion is fully corroborated by life, by the experience of history.

The development of socialist democracy implies extensive day-to-day practical work in many directions. It includes stimulating and improving the work of all organisations which unite the masses, primarily, of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade unions and the Komsomol. It also presupposes improving the fundamental legislative principles of our democracy. Further, we attach great significance to developing democratic principles directly in the collectives where the main mass of the population is concentrated—at factories, offices and collective farms. A case in point is the Rules of the Collective Farm, the draft of which has been submitted for discussion by the entire people.

The improvement of socialist democracy is closely linked with stimulating the political consciousness of the masses, keeping them informed of the policy of the Party and the Government, and making them deeply interested in these affairs and feel they are the true masters of the country. In this sphere we are resolutely combatting the influence of bourgeois ideology and propaganda and the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people.

We regard as an important task the further strengthening of the union of all nations and nationalities of our multinational country. All of you, comrades, know that in this sphere of socialist transformations, too, we have accomplished notable results which have been of fundamental significance to the revolutionary movement and in awakening the oppressed nations. The present stage of the building of communism demands that the attained successes should be not only consolidated but also developed. It is a matter of drawing still closer together all the nations and nationalities, further improving the work of education of Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and of intolerance for the ideology of nationalism and racialism.

The scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction enhance the role of the politically conscious, organising vanguard in the life of society. This vanguard is the Communist Party, which founds all its activity on Marx-

ism-Leninism, is intimately linked with the working masses and imparts an organised and planned nature to all the work of building communism.

Exercising its leading role, the Party does everything to enable the working people actively to influence the shaping and implementing of state policy and give them every opportunity to display initiative, a pioneering spirit. The Party resolutely fights bureaucratic tendencies against which the administrative apparatus is not fully guaranteed under socialism either.

Enhancement of the Party's leading role increases its responsibility for everything done in the country, for the present and the future of the Soviet state. And this means that the Party itself must develop, sustain the militancy of its ranks and reinforce their ideological and organisational unity.

In the little more than eight years which have passed since the last meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the membership of the CPSU has increased by more than 4,500,000. It now has in its ranks almost 14 million members. More than half of the Party members are workers and peasants. We attach great significance to workers holding a leading place in the Party. This corresponds to the class nature of our Party, to the role and place of the working class in the life of our society. The collective-farm peasantry plays a big part in the life of the Party. The Party unites millions of trained specialists, scientists, workers in culture and other intellectuals who are contributing greatly to social, scientific, technological and cultural progress.

The growth of our Party's ranks strikingly attests to the hight prestige it enjoys among all sections of the people in our country. The Communist Party and its home and foreign policy have the whole-hearted, unanimous support of the entire Soviet people.

We associate the improvement of the Party's work with the consistent development of democracy within the Party, with the undeviating application of the principle of democratic centralism. All of you know how much has been and is being done along these lines in recent years, and what place these questions held in the decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd congresses of the CPSU.

Comrades, the way things are shaping out in our coun-

try, the successes in communist construction largely determine the scale and depth of the influence exerted by the Soviet Union's foreign policy on the international situation. The main aims and trends of this policy were clearly defined in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

In foreign affairs the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concentrates on making the socialist world stronger today than yesterday, and stronger tomorrow than today. This is concretely embodied in the efforts made by our state, jointly with other socialist countries, to further co-operation in the political, defence and economic spheres.

The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, holds active positions in the wide and seething front of the national liberation movement, and renders firm political support and moral and material help to the peoples fighting for liberation.

The Soviet Union will continue to give effective military and economic assistance and moral and political support to the Vietnamese people in order to repulse imperialist aggression. In our view, the programme for a political settlement of the Vietnam question set out in the "10 Points" of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is perfectly justified and fair, and we declare our support of it.

Young Asian and African states invariably find support in the Soviet Union. Our country co-operates with many of them in economic, scientific, technological and cultural spheres and in the training of national personnel.

The Soviet Union has rendered and will continue to render all-round assistance to the Arab states subjected to aggression. We firmly demand the full implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which opens the way for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The imperialists seek to sow discord in the relations between states which have won national independence. Soviet foreign policy opposes the imperialist intrigues and facilitates a peaceful settlement of the differences between these states. A case in point is the Tashkent meeting of the leaders of India and Pakistan, when even belligerent countries were able to reach agreement on ending hostilities.

We are extending our ties with the states of Latin America where resistance to imperialist dictation and to foreign monopoly oppression is stiffening.

The relations of the Soviet Union with countries of the capitalist world are based on the principle of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social system, a principle substantiated by Lenin. This principle implies that outstanding issues between countries must be settled not by the force, not by war, but in a peaceful way. This principle has won wide international recognition.

Peaceful coexistence does not extend to the struggle of ideologies—this must be stressed most categorically. At the same time, it is not reduced simply to the absence of war between socialist and capitalist states. Observance of the peaceful coexistence principle opens up broader possibilities for expanding relations between them. We refer to the settlement, at the negotiating table, of international problems, to the co-ordination of measures for reducing the war danger and easing international tensions, and also to mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural ties.

Recent experience, specifically the development of relations between the Soviet Union and France, Finland, Italy, Japan and a number of other countries, shows that such possibilities lie in the very nature of the policy of peaceful coexistence. We made no exception in this respect for any capitalist state, including the USA. For us peaceful coexistence is not a temporary tactical method, but an important principle underlying the consistently peace-loving foreign policy of socialism. Such a policy creates the most favourable conditions for building the new society in socialist countries, and for developing the revolutionary and liberation movement.

We are well aware that extremely aggressive circles often influence the shaping of the foreign policy of the big capitalist states. To curb the activity of these circles it is necessary to be firm, to expose their increasing provocations and be constantly ready to administer a determined rebuff to aggressive encroachments. This is the foreign policy that the CPSU and the Soviet Union pursue.

In the capitalist camp we distinguish a more moderate wing as well. While remaining our class, ideological enemies its representatives assess the present balance of forces quite soberly and are inclined to explore mutually acceptable settlements of outstanding international issues in this

sphere. In its foreign policy, our state takes into account such tendencies.

Barring the road to the threat of war and without relaxing our vigilant watch of the intrigues of aggressive and revanchist circles, we shall continue to do everything in our power to stamp out the hotbeds of war on our planet.

The burning problems of the current international situation do not conceal from our view longer-term tasks, namely, the creation of a system of collective security in areas of the globe where the danger of another world war, of armed conflicts, is concentrated. Such a system is the best replacement for the existing military-political groupings.

At their conference in Karlovy Vary the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, both those in power and Parties in the capitalist countries of the continent, drew up a common programme of measures aimed at safeguarding security in Europe. Member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty have advanced a concrete programme of achieving the security of the European peoples, stability of frontiers and peaceful cooperation of European states. The CPSU and the Soviet Union will do everything to implement this programme.

We are of the opinion that the course of events is also putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia.

The draft Document we are discussing emphasises the urgency of putting into force the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the need for prohibiting these weapons and using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. Increasing the efficacy of the ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons is also a common aim. The Meeting's participants know very well how much perseverance and initiative Soviet foreign policy is displaying in all these directions.

Today, as before, the Soviet Union is prepared to reach understanding on general and complete disarmament, on measures for limiting and restraining the arms race, above all the race for nuclear and missile weapons. To compel the imperialists to curtail the arms race means to shake the positions of the instigators of another war, to switch colossal resources to constructive purposes and to strengthen world peace.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the So-

viet people will continue to multiply their contribution towards accomplishing the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, and steadfastly uphold the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

* * *

Comrades, our movement has a great and illustrious history. The great thinkers and revolutionaries Karl Marx and Frederick Engels stood at its cradle. Their fervent call "Workers of all countries, unite!" resounded throughout the world. It epitomised the idea of the unity and fraternity of all working people and the community of their interests, and became the battle standard of our movement.

Last year all of us observed the sesquicentennial of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism. We did not merely pay the tribute of deserved respect to the man whose ideas and deeds are immortal, but also reviewed our forces, analysed the results and charted the prospects of our activity.

We are now on the eve of another memorable anniversary—the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Lenin's inestimable service consists in that he furnished answers to the most acute questions raised by life and indicated the most efficacious forms of struggle against imperialism, against social and national oppression, for the victory of the socialist revolution and the triumph of communism.

To apply a consistent class line, firmly adhere to principles, be flexible in tactics, consider the concrete conditions from every angle, to employ bold and at the same time well-conceived actions, to be able to utilise all the diverse means of fighting imperialism—this is what Lenin taught us, and what we learn from Lenin.

His contribution to revolutionary theory was a major stage in the development of Marxist thought. Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch. The centenary of Lenin's birth is a glorious date for all the Communists of the world. The CPSU feels that the forthcoming Lenin anniversary must be utilised for further stimulating ideological work in the communist movement.

We, comrades, have every reason for looking with

confidence to the future. The communist movement, loyal to the immortal teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, now possesses sweeping possibilities for winning, in alliance with all the anti-imperialist forces, fresh victories in the historic struggle for the social and national liberation of the peoples, for peace, for the radiant communist morrow of all mankind.

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Л. И. БРЕЖНЕВ

За укрепление сплоченности коммунистов, за новый подъем антиимпериалистической борьбы

на английском языке

Цена 10 коп.

АПН